CURRENTNEWSBARB

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European Stars & Stripes April 10, 1998

Hey, soldier, that's a pretty 'smart' uniform

By Lisa Hoffman Scripps Howard News Service

WASHINGTON — First, there were "smart" weapons that revolutionized with their high-tech precision. Now, the Army is hoping "smart" textiles will do the same for uniforms. The Army's Soldier Systems Command has begun to explore military applications for the new field of interactive textiles, which are being developed to do any ber of mind-boggling things, thanks to the wonders of computer microchips woven into fabrics themselves.

Recent research points to an array of post-Space Age possibilities as materials are developed that can react to the environment, conduct electricity, store energy and even perform computer functions, according to an Army account of the scientific endeavor headquartered at the service's research and development hub in Natick, Mass.

Experts there say that sol-

diers of the next century are likely to wear uniforms made of cloth that would quickly detect and react to the weather, by, say, tightening fibers to keep out rain or thinning them out to allow more air flow in hot temperatures. The uniforms also could be designed to change color to blend into whatever environment soldiers find themselves in, or to swell repel chemical weapon agents wafting their way. The clothes might even have the capability to instantaneously turn into body armor to shield the wearer from bullets or shrapnel.

Also possible are textiles that can conduct, collect and store energy — and turn it into heat, which could be generated by motion to heat gloves, caps or socks for soldiers stationed in the bitter cold. Perhaps the most futuristic conception is the notion of embedding artificial muscle into the textiles, to boost a GI's strength and endurance. Hard to imagine, too, but also possible is integrating microchips and a conducting network into the textile to allow the wearer to be able to turn his uniform into a personal computer, using it to communiPg. 1

cate with other troops, store data and even perform compu-

The Army scientists also envisage applying the high-tech textile breakthroughs to parachutes and tents. With parachutes, the new cloth could soften the shock that comes with the opening of the chute and could also be employed to monitor the stresses and strains on the canopy and signal when repairs are needed. The tents could be designed to self-erect, as well as to detect and repel chemicals, change color or quickly "harden" to protect against attack.

Lest it be thought these ideas are pie-in-the-sky, the Army notes that one application already is being evaluated, with the hope of moving it from the drawing board to the field in the near future. This is the uniform Sensate Liner, an item developed by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency which, when a soldier is wounded, would locate precisely where a bullet entered the body and identify the amount of bleeding.

This breakthrough would allow battlefield medics to treat the most seriously wounded first New York Times April 10, 1998

Experts Deny Iraq Has Ended Its Germ Warfare Program

By Barbara Crossette

UNITED NATIONS -- A team of independent experts who reviewed Iraq's progress in eliminating biological weapons at Baghdad's request has rejected President Saddam Hussein's contention that he no longer has a germ warfare program.

The experts' report, released on Thursday, called Iraqi disclosures "incomplete and inadequate" and said Baghdad had failed to convince them that biological weapons or the ingredients to make them have been eliminated.

Most disturbing, the report said, were Iraqi claims that missile warheads containing biological weapons had been destroyed. The Iraqi account, "cannot be reconciled with physical evidence," said the report, compiled by military and scientific experts from 13 countries, including the United States, Russia, China and France.

The findings are a blow to

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Iraq, which had demanded the independent review in the hope that it would present a more positive picture of Iraqi compliance than the report by the U.N. Special Commission, the team of arms inspectors that was charged with eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction after the end of the war in the Persian Gulf in 1991.

U.N. inspectors believe that Baghdad could still have an active germ warfare program or the ingredients to quickly produce extremely lethal biologi-

cal weapons.

The United Nations had agreed to Iraqi demands for an independent review, to be conducted with Iraqi experts present, and invited member countries to nominate experts for the independent panel. But in this case, as in other recent reviews, experts from countries friendly to Iraq have instead agreed with the findings of other experts from neutral and more critical nations.

Iraq and the Security Council are heading into another crucial and potentially explosive few weeks, culminating in the first major review of sanctions against Iraq since Secretary General Kofi Annan concluded an agreement with Saddam in February that headed off an American military attack.

Iraqi officials have been talking confidently of closing the book on sanctions this year. That will certainly not happen in Security Council deliberations this month, diplomats say.

But diplomats and U.N. officials have not ruled out some movement on easing sanctions by the fall, when the next major reassessment by the council is to take place.

Russia, France and China, which all have potentially large commercial interests in Iraq, have argued that the embargo cannot last forever. Russian and French officials, as well as Annan, have been telling Iraq that it must cooperate with inspections to strengthen its position.

The recently completed U.N. inspections of eight formerly off-limits presidential properties in Iraq, made possible by Annan's agreement, are being touted by the Iraqis as significant cooperation. A report on those inspections will be sent to the Security Council next week.

But some serious questions remain about those inspections, and these could add to Iraq's problems in coming weeks. When Annan signed the pact with Iraq on Feb. 23, Iraqi officials suggested that they regarded the presidential site inspections as one-time events.

Annan and Richard Butler, the executive chairman of the Special Commission, have argued that there were no such restrictions on access. U.N. inspectors treated the visits to the sites as preliminary inspections and anticipated follow-up visits, with less fanfare and less

notice. If Iraq concludes otherwise, the stage would be set for another tense confrontation.

The independent report on biological weapons, sent to the Security Council on Wednesday by Butler, was one of four ordered in January, when Iraqi defiance of arms inspections had reached a crisis. Experts on chemical weapons and missiles reached similar conclusions. A report by the International Atomic Energy Agency on the Iraqi nuclear program is also expected to find problems.

A comprehensive account of where inspections stand on all Iraqi weapons systems that must be eliminated before sanctions can be lifted will also go to the council next week.

From the end of the Persian Gulf war in 1991 until 1995, Iraq had denied that it possessed biological weapons. But in August of 1995 the defection to Jordan of Saddam Hussein's son-in-law and former arms minister, Hussein Kamel, led to the "discovery" of damning documents the Iraqis said were found on the defector's chicken farm.

Since then, Iraq has said it has made several "full, final and complete declarations" about the biological program, the last in September 1997. Experts have never found them credible.

The independent report, compiled after a meeting of Iraqi and foreign experts in Vienna from March 20 to 27, reaches the same conclusion. Moreover, the independent

experts appear to have sensed that Iraq did not intend to allow the review to be too rigorous.

The report says that the Iraqi side "did not include within its technical team a full range of technical and managerial expertise to enable most of the technical issues to be fully examined."

Iraqis also did not offer information on either the current status of biological weapons programs or state conclusively when such projects were terminated if they no longer existed. Missing from Iraqi documentation was information about the Al-Hazen Institute, a biological and chemical research center belonging to one of Iraq's numerous intelligence agencies. The Iraqis told the foreign experts that the institute had been destroyed because it was a fail-

"Current information makes this assertion difficult to accept," the report said.

One of the few new pieces of information to emerge in the meetings, the report noted, was that Iraq was planning to spray the toxin that causes botulism from airplanes. Earlier, the Iraqis had said that they had planned to use anthrax bacteria.

The report also said the Iraqis could not explain why they had purchased viral, fungal and mycotoxin strains -- all used in germ warfare. It also called the Iraqi account of production of aflatoxins, another biologoical agent, "implausible."

Washington Times

April 10, 1998

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Ramos, Cohen contemplate islands for war maneuvers

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Philippine President Fidel V. Ramos and Defense Secretary William S. Cohen yesterday discussed American troops using the Philippines for training exercises.

Nearing the end of a farewell visit to the United States, Mr. Ramos received a ceremonial welcome at the Pentagon and laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery.

Mr. Ramos and Mr. Cohen reviewed the situation in Southeast Asia, particularly the financial crisis that has hit Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea but has spared the Philippines, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said.

He said earlier this year the

United States and the Philippines signed an agreement "that will allow American forces to begin training there again, not to be stationed there, on operations and missions and they discussed that."

Mr. Ramos also raised "cleaning up waste and other products at Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay Naval Station, which the U.S. abandoned several years ago at the insistence of the Philippines," Mr. Bacon said.

Mr. Ramos did not bring up the possible return of historic church bells seized by U.S. troops in the Philippines a century ago, the spokesman said, noting that it is "more of a White House issue than a military issue" and likely will be

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taken up when he speaks with President Clinton today.

Other issues Mr. Ramos said he plans to raise with Mr. Clinton include the Asian financial crisis and greater access for Philippine products to U.S. markets.

Mr. Ramos also will see Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin toBaltimore Sun

April 10, 1998

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U.S. agrees to return base on Okinawa to Japan

TOKYO -- The United States agreed yesterday to return to Japan the site of a Marine training base on the island of Okinawa.

About 1,200 acres of land and

19,500 acres of water will be returned to Tokyo's control, a U.S. military spokesman in Japan said.

It is the first parcel being returned under a 1996 U.S.-Japan agreement to give Okinawa back roughly 20 percent of the area now occupied and used by the troops.

Washington Times

April 10, 1998

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leapons issue splits Clinton administration

By Bill Gertz THE WASHINGTON TIMES

In a rare public airing of internal differences, Clinton administration officials sounded different notes yesterday on a proposal to give the State Department a role in a weapons development review group that has been the sole domain of the Pentagon since the

Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon confirmed that the State Department's top arms control official, John Holum, last month discussed with Walter Slocombe, undersecretary of defense for policy, modifying the way the Pentagon determines whether its new weapons systems are legal under international treaties and obligations.

Mr. Bacon rejected any change in the review process because lawyers and policy officials at the State Department and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) already are "fully engaged" in reviewing weapons systems in development.

"We think this has worked and we don't see any reason to change that system," said Mr. Bacon, commenting on a story in yesterday's editions of The Washington Times.

Mr. Slocombe wrote back to Mr. Holum yesterday, rejecting any changes in the compliance review group, noting in his letter that the current system "works quite well" and should not be changed.

But State Department spokesman James P. Rubin said department officials there still want to modify the way the Pentagon conducts the reviews, which are legal determinations based on technical evaluations.

"There has been a long-standing process by which the Department of Defense has been responsible for ensuring that our programs are consistent with our arms control obligations," Mr. Rubin said. "And we and they are working closely together to see whether there are ways to make sure that process works best."

Critics of the plan say it would transform the technical review into a political debating group on whether new systems are desirable or will complicate negotiations.

The change could also give opponents of U.S. high-technology arms a mechanism to hobble weapons development efforts, Pentagon officials said.

According to a March 12 letter obtained by The Times, Mr. Holum, the undersecretary of state for arms control, wrote Mr. Slocombe proposing that "my office" be given a major role in all weapons development reviews "at the earliest stages."

The letter also proposed that Mr. Holum be informed before the Pentagon initiates the compliance review group's final decisions, which are approved by the Pentagon's acquisitions chief.

Any bureaucratic differences between the State Department and Pentagon positions would hold up a weapons development program until the White House resolves the dispute, the letter stated.

Asked for his views on the matter, Mr. Holum told reporters vesterday he did not seek "a major confrontation" between the Pentagon and State Department on the issue.

He declined to comment on his letter, but confirmed he wants changes to the current compliance review process.

He said the motivation was "not to put the State Department or the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the middle of the [compliance review group] or their procurement decisions, but to see if we can't coordinate things better once their decisions are made."
A Senate Republican aide said

many on Capitol Hill are dissatisfied with the current review process. But "the idea of permitting earlier entry by the Department of State will make the process even more contorted," the aide said.

"That this idea emanates from John Holum is one more good reason why he will never be confirmed as undersecretary of state," the aide said, a reference to Mr. Holum's pending nomination for the post now before the Senate.

Mr. Rubin dismissed reported opposition to the plan from Pentagon officials as "a little hyperventilating.'

• Toni Marshall contributed to this

Washington Post

April 10, 1998

Pg. 17

Colombian Rebels Seen Winning War

U.S. Study Finds Army Inept, Ill-Equipped

By Douglas Farah Washington Post Foreign Service

The U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency has concluded that Colombia's military, bat-

tling a Marxist insurgency financed by millions of dollars from the cocaine and heroin trade, could be defeated within five years unless the Bogota government regains political legitimacy and its armed forces

are drastically restructured.

The report, one of the bleakest assessments to date of Colombia's fragile security situation, asserts that Colombia -- one of the largest countries in South America and the one

with the oldest tradition of democracy -- would turn into a "narco-state" if the insurgents continue to grow and the government ceases to function effectively.

A summary of the report, prepared in November, was obtained yesterday by The Washington Post, while two sources with direct knowledge of the full text provided details not included in the summary.

The DIA, the principal U.S. military intelligence service, estimates the number of Marxist insurgents in Colombia at more than 20,000 -- markedly higher than previous, widely held estimates of 15,000 -- divided between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), with about 15,000 members, and the National Liberation Army (ELN), with about 5,000. While the two groups occasionally coordinate tactics, they usually operate independently.

The DIA assessment notes that the guerrillas now have small aircraft for surveillance operations and for moving rebel leaders and munitions around the country, as well as surface-to-air missiles and sophisticated heavy weapons bought with drug money from countries of the former Soviet

Bloc.

At the same time, according to the report and senior U.S. officials, the Colombian military has proved to be inept, ill-trained and poorly equipped. Of the 120,000 armed forces members, only 20,000 are equipped and prepared for combat, according to U.S. intelligence sources. Standard military doctrine holds that a regular army needs a 10 to 1 advantage in size to defeat a well-equipped and steadfast insurgency.

The guerrillas have been fighting the government for the past three decades but have never before evinced the strength now attributed to them. According to U.S. and Colombian officials, the rebel groups control more than 40 percent of Colombia. Ten years ago, according to Colombian intelligence officials, the guerrillas maintained a presence in 173 municipalities; now, sources say, they are operating in close to 700.

About two-thirds of FARC units and half of ELN units are involved in drug trafficking, according to U.S. and Colombian intelligence sources, providing the two groups with tens of millions of dollars to finance

their operations.

The pessimistic assessment of the situation in Colombia, which produces 80 percent of the world's cocaine and a growing share of the heroin consumed in the United States, was echoed by Gen. Charles Wilhelm, chief of the U.S. Southern Command, which is responsible for U.S. security in Latin America.

"The primary vulnerability of the Colombian armed forces is their inability to see threats, followed closely by their lack of competence in assessing and engaging them," Wilhelm told a congressional hearing on

March 31.

In an April 6 letter to Gen. Manuel Jose Bonnet, commander of the Colombian military, Wilhelm said that "at this time the Colombian armed forces are not up to the task of confronting and defeating the insurgents. . . . Colombia is the

most threatened in the area under the Southern Command's responsibility, and it is in urgent need of our support."

Bonnet, who made the letter public, agreed, saying the Colombian armed forces are in "a position of inferiority" to the rebels and adding that he would gladly accept U.S. military aid, even "atomic bombs."

The deteriorating situation in Colombia has sparked a growing debate within the Clinton administration and the Pentagon over how to deal with the threat. Although the United States provided about \$100 million to Colombia last year for anti-drug operations, the administration has tried to keep Colombia from using the aid directly for counterinsurgency purposes.

However, because of guerrilla involvement in drug trafficking, such a distinction has become difficult to make. Moreover, there is growing pressure in the Congress, led by Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), for the administration to provide the Colombian army with Black Hawk helicopters and other more sophisticated mili-

tary aid.

A senior State Department official said U.S. policy in Colombia "is to assist in fighting narcotics production and trafficking. . . . When our personnel and equipment are attacked during counter-drug operations, they will return fire. We do not, however, provide assistance for offensive counter-guerrilla operations."

According to U.S. military sources, there are about 200 U.S. military personnel in Colombia. About half are assigned to operate and protect two large radar bases that were installed in recent years to track flights of planes piloted by suspected drug traffickers. The rest are involved in a variety of training missions, the officials said.

The administration is debating whether to supply Colombia with sophisticated communications equipment and intelligence support, but the possibility of increased aid has raised concerns among human rights groups because of the Colombian military's abysmal human rights record in recent years.

"There is no magic line" between counter-drug and counter-insurgency aid, said Carlos Salinas of the human rights group Amnesty International, and the growing congressional pressure on the administration to give Colombia more military aid with fewer restrictions "could unwittingly fuel human rights violations."

But F. Andy Messing of the Washington-based National Defense Council Foundation, which studies guerrilla warfare, warned that unless Colombia receives sustained U.S. military and economic aid, the insurgents would be unbeatable. "When one side has the advantage, there is no stopping them," Messing said. "The guerrillas have the big Mo [momentum], so why not go for the whole enchilada?"

London Times

April 10, 1998

Iran 'obtained warheads from Kazakhstan'

Israeli paper has found evidence of a nuclear deal, writes Ross Dunn

IRAN received four nuclear warheads from the former Soviet republic of Kazakhstan and they have been maintained by Russian experts, according to documents published in Israel vesterday.

The Jerusalem Post printed excerpts from papers, which it says are regarded as authentic by United States experts, as evidence that the Islamic republic is developing weapons capable of long-range nuclear attack.

The documents contain cor-

respondence between Iranian government officials and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards that outline Tehran's successful efforts to obtain nuclear warheads from the former Soviet republics.

The newspaper quotes an unnamed American government consultant as saying: "They are real and we have had them for years."

In a front-page article, the newspaper says the documents appear to back up reports from 1992 that Iran received enriched uranium and up to four nuclear warheads from Kazakhstan, with the help of the Russian underworld.

In one of the documents, dated December 26, 1991, the deputy head of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards - who is not named - tells Rezi Amrullahi, the head of the Iranian Atomic Energy Agency, that "two war materials of nuclear nature" had arrived from Russia and were being kept by the guards.

At the bottom of the docu-

ment is purported to be the handwritten note of a senior Iranian intelligence officer, who rebukes both officials, ordering them not to write such memos and to avoid leaks.

Other documents dated January 2, 1992, are said to be from a senior Iranian Revolutionary Guards official who quotes an engineer as saying that the nuclear warheads are being stored at the Lavizan military camp in the Tehran area.

The engineer adds that the

warheads contain flaws in the safety mechanism and he is waiting for Russian experts to arrive and fix them.

The documents were published after a two-day visit by Robert Gallucci, the newly appointed American presidential envoy, who was told by Israeli officials that Russia had failed to stop the transfer of missile technology to Iran. Mr Gallucci is going to Moscow next week where he will press Russian officials over the issue.

He will bring with him complaints from Israel, which has been lobbying the US Congress to pass the sanctions legislation against Moscow to stop the Russian aid programme to the Iranians.

Israel has apparently agreed to suspend its behind-thescenes campaign for a month, to give Mr Gallucci the opportunity to negotiate with the Russians.

Israeli government officials pointed to a report this week by Tass, the Russian news agency. which said that the Russian Federal Security Service prevented a recent attempt to smuggle 22 tonnes of alloyed steel to Iran via Azerbaijan. The agency said three nonRussians were arrested.

"Yes, the Russians may have stopped this steel for missiles, but it is the exception that proves the rule," one Israeli government official said. "Russia has not done enough and we think a deadline should be set next month [for the imposition of US sanctions against Moscow]."

Israel plans to raise the issue William Cohen, the American Defence Secretary, during his trip to Israel on April 20 and also with Vice-President Al Gore, who is visiting on April 30 in honour of Israel's 50th anniversary.

Mr Gore has been involved in direct discussions with President Yeltsin and other top Russian officials about the spread of missile and nuclear technology.

Moscow: A spokesman for the Russian Atomic Energy Ministry last night dismissed the Jerusalem report as nonsense, saying that all nuclear warheads in the former Soviet Union were accounted for and that it was inconceivable that any could have disappeared without the knowledge of the military.

USA Today April 10, 1998

Pq. 10

GULF WAR ILLNESS: Gulf War veterans may be getting cancer and other diseases at rates higher than reported because of how the government accumulates the data, the General Accounting Office said. The congressional investigators concluded that because of incomplete record-keeping, there's no reliable way to estimate the incidence of tumors and other maladies that may been caused by exposure to chemicals and other agents during the 1991 conflict. Rep. Christopher Shays, who chairs a subcommittee on human resources, said the GAO study refutes government claims that gulf veterans are no sicker than veterans who were never deployed there. "We now know these assurances were at best optimistic, at worse misleading to Congress and veterans," Shays, R-Conn, said. He has asked government officials to testify about the findings at a hearing next month.

Washington Post April 10, 1998

Pq. 18

Greeks Claim Responsibility for U.S. Attacks

ATHENS -- Greece's deadliest terrorist group claimed responsibility for a spate of attacks against U.S. targets,

The November 17 Movement, whose 21 victims since 1975 include a CIA station chief and three other Ameri-

cans, said the campaign was "aimed against American imperialism-nationalism."

It named no specific U.S. officials. But the wave of attacks has coincided with the high-profile activities of the new American ambassador. including an antitank rocket blast at a Citibank branch.

Nicholas Burns, who has spoken out about the need for Greece to crack down on terrorism. The statement appeared a day after the anti-tank missile attack on the Citibank branch.

Washington Times

April 10, 1998

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China's purported missile-technology transfer under scrutiny

By Bill Gertz THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The State Department is investigating whether China provided technology for Pakistan's new medium-range missile in violation of an international export ban, a senior arms-control official said yesterday.

Chinese support for Pakistan's 900-mile-range missile would violate Beijing's commitment to abide by the general terms of the 29nation Missile Technology Control Regime, which bans exports of missiles and related technology for long-range missiles.

John Holum, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and acting undersecretary of state, told reporters that China in the past has helped Pakistan's missile program, but it is not clear that the long-range missile knowhow for Pakistan's new system

"It's a matter that we are, in fact, actively reviewing," Mr. Holum

"originated in China."

said, in outlining a recent trip to Beijing, mainly to discuss missileproliferation matters.

Pakistan conducted the first test of its new missile earlier this week, but Mr. Holum stressed the test is "not a deployment decision." However, the missile development is a concern because of tensions between India and Pakistan and the possibility that both countries could field nuclear-tipped mis-

"We think both countries should avoid actions that could be interpreted as provocative," he said.

Mr. Holum said the administration is "very interested" in seeing that China tightens export controls on missiles and related technology.

The United States is also considering increasing its cooperation with China in space launches, he said.

The issues may come up when Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright visits Beijing this month. The State Department said yesterday she would leave April 27 to visit Japan, China, South Korea and Mongolia.

Mr. Holum said that in his own talks with Chinese officials, he had proposed "that it would be worthwhile for China to consider membership in the Missile Technology Control Regime."

"At the same time, I think it is reasonable for us to focus on enlisting China in the same level or comparable level of controls of missile technology as the MTCR provides," he said.

Mr. Holum said he believes it will be "some time" before the Chinese are interested in formally

joining the regime.

Mr. Holum said he did not "offer" to sell missile technology to China during his visit two weeks ago, but he noted that the United States would consider speeding up export licenses of missile-related technology to China "if China were part of the Missile Teclinology Control Regime."

London Times

Exiled Karadzic 'is ready to surrender'

By Tom Walker

RADOVAN KARADZIC, the world's most wanted war crimes suspect, is in hiding in Belarus and about to give himself up to the international criminal tribunal in The Hague, according to French intelligence sources.

They say Dr Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb war leader who is accused of genocide and crimes against humanity, left his mountain retreat of Pale, above Sarajevo, in November, and has since been negotiating with Nato and international prosecutors for the terms of his arrest.

France, the Western European nation traditionally most sympathetic to the Serbs, has been influential in the international community's handling of war criminals, and Dr Karadzic appears to have used diplo-Belgrade in his clandestine tion Force had mounted its

talks with The Hague. But Le Monde reported yesterday that finally he had contacted two American lawyers, whom he has hired to conduct his defence, to arrange the conditions under which he would surren-

"His main concern seems to be that he does not want to serve any sentence in any country where he would not feel comfortable, that is, on religious grounds," a Western diplomatic source said. Dr Karadzic is a member of the Orthodox Church. "He was also seeking guarantees about legal representation," the source added. Suspicions that Dr Karadzic had fled Pale grew last weekend, when a small army of Bosnian Serb special police who had guarded his supposed residence in the village disappeared overnight. matic channels in Paris and Earlier the Nato-led Stabilisa-

largest operation in the ski resort, with 500 German, French and Italian troops inspecting buildings guarded by the special police. At the time, diplosuspected that Dr Karadzic might have been arrested; it now seems that he was already absent.

Journalists who visited the Karadzic residence found little of interest; the top two floors were still under construction, while the ground floor was locked, its windows curtained from outside inspection, Republika Srpska Interior Ministry police later arrested reporters found at the scene, and subsequently a new "owner" of the house has threatened to shoot any foreigners found loitering. Apparently he was a friend of Sasa Karadzic, Dr Karadzic's gangster son, who has also not been seen for weeks.

The circumstances of Dr

Karadzic's flight indicate a high-level cover-up. It was first suggested that he might leave Republika Srpska last summer. when the new pro-Western president of the entity, Biljana Plavsic, said Madeleine Albright, the American Secretary of State, had told her the international community would turn a blind eye to Dr Karadzic slipping out to a third country. Washington denied the report.

Last night, an American official said the United States believed that Dr Karadzic was still in Pale, and the State Department indicated that he was not in hiding in Belarus.

There has been no mention of the role played by President Milosevic of Yugoslavia in the Karadzic negotiation. It has been rumoured that if the Bosnian Serb leader gives himself up to justice, then he will bring Mr Milosevic down with

Pacific Stars & Stripes

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Albright to talk peninsula peace. during Seoul visit

Staff and wire reports

SEOUL - U.S. Secretary of State Madeline Albright is due in Secul on May 1 to confer with her South Korean counterpart on the four-nation peace talks, a North Korean nuclear reactor project and South Korea's current economic problems, the Foreign Affairs and Trade Ministry announced on Thursday.

A ministry spokesman said Albright and Foreign Minister Park Chung-soo also will discusa President Kim Dae-jung's scheduled June trip to the United States.

Kim was inaugurated in Februstry as the first opposition leader to take power in South

During Albright's two-day visit, her second to South Korea since becoming the United States' top diplomat, she also will meet with Kim and other government officials, the ministry said.

North and South Korea are scheduled to meet in Beijing this weekend in the first government contact in four years, and the United States has expressed keen interest, saying the contact could stir progress in the stalled four-nation peace

The two rival Koreas, along with the United States and China, have met twice in Geneva since last November to discuss a permanent peace treaty to replace the armistice that ended the 1950-S3 Korean War. Little progress has been reported.

Albright also is expected to discuss with officials the financing of two nuclear reactors being built in the North under a 1994 U.S.-North Korea accord.

Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Stanley Roth will accompany Albright to Seoul, the min-

Albright's visit comes on the heels of a two-day trip to South Korea by Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Thomas Pickering. While here, Pickering met with Foreign Ministry and other government officials to discuss Korea's financial crisis and other matters, the ministry spokesman

In a meeting with President Kim on Wednesday, Pickering also expressed U.S. support for the Seoul-Pyongyang talks to be held in Beijing on Saturday. Those talks will be the first between government officials of the two Koreas since the death of the North's president, Kim II Sung, in 1994.

Albright's Asian visit also includes stops in Tokyo April 27-28 and Beijing April 29-30.

Washington Post April 10, 1998 Pg. Fl

Lockheed Gets Contract For New Cruise Missiles

By Tim Smart Washington Post Staff Writer

Lockheed Martin Corp. of Bethesda yesterday defeated arch rival Boeing Co. in a contest to build a stealthy, multipurpose cruise missile for the Pentagon.

The \$2 billion-plus award, which covers production of at least 2,400 Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missiles (known as JASSM) over the next decade. is a significant victory for Lockheed Martin. It's a morale booster at a time when the defense giant is fighting the government over its planned \$12 billion acquisition of Northrop Grumman Corp.

It also gives Lockheed Martin, already the nation's largest defense contractor, entry into the key market for cruise missiles, a segment that until now has been dominated by the former Hughes defense unit of Raytheon Co. and Boeing.

"It puts us in a new market area," said Thomas Corcoran, head of Lockheed Martin's defense electronics unit. "We think that this program represented a great opportunity to get into this marketplace where we have not participated before."

Corcoran said the company's proposal represented a joint effort by Lockheed Martin's Orlando-based electronics and missile division and Lockheed's former California-based "Skunk Works," which developed most of the existing stealth technology. Lockheed merged with the former Martin Marietta in 1995.

The missile is designed to hit targets such as air defense systems deep inside enemy territory from a distance of up to 100 miles. It will be launched from a variety of bombers and fighter aircraft and will have few sharp edges and special coatings to avoid

detection by radar.

The missile will be directed to its target by an on-board guidance system working in tandem with satellite-based navigation.

Lockheed Martin and Boeing have competed since 1996 for the right to produce the missile. Boeing won an earlier competition to build the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM), which employs similar technologies.

The Air Force had set a maximum price of \$400,000 per missile for the program, about one-third the cost of a predecessor missile.

Without providing specific numbers, Air Force officials said yesterday that Lockheed Martin's bid had been "well below" the price limit set by the agency. The service credited a new acquisition process, which allowed the contractors to respond to only three performance goals rather than a lengthy list of military specifications.

Washington Times April 10, 1998 Pg. 17

Castro hails Pentagon on threat brushoff

MEXICO CITY — The Pentagon received praise from an unlikely source yesterday: Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Mr. Castro said that a recent Pentagon report concluding that Cuba poses no military threat to the United States was "an objective report by serious people," the Cuban Communist Party's newspaper Granma reported.

"It was crazy, really, to think that Cuba constituted a danger for the United States," the Cuban leader told reporters after meeting Dominican Foreign Minister Eduardo Latorre Wednesday night.

Mr. Castro said Cuba had been a political threat to U.S. dominance in Latin America, but had never been a military threat to Washington.

Inside the Air Force

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COHEN SAYS JASSM MORE SURVIVABLE, COST EFFECTIVE IN EARLY STAGES OF WAR

Defense Secretary William Cohen has told Congress the Joint Air-to-Surface Standoff Missile will be "more survivable, lethal, and cost-effective" in destroying "high-priority, highly defended targets during the first phases of war" than a Navy replacement to JASSM.

"The analysis of alternatives demonstrates that the JASSM requirement is valid and that the capability it will provide has great value," Cohen said in the April 9 letter.

The JASSM program can now use \$43 million set aside in the fiscal 1998 defense budget to develop the Navy alternative to JASSM, a slightly modified version of its Standoff Land Attack Missile -- Expanded Response.

Cohen added, however, that both efforts will proceed, at least in the near future.

"The SLAM-ER missile is proven and also has demonstrated performance against many of the JASSM targets," Cohen wrote. "In the near term, the Navy will continue to acquire and use SLAM-ER and its variants because: JASSM is not available yet; an F/A-18 C/D carrying a JASSM missile may not, under all operational conditions, be able to land safely on a carrier due to the weight of a JASSM; and SLAM-ER has a man-in-the-loop capability whereas JASSM does not."

The Navy has been trying to back out of the JASSM program since last spring when officials briefed Capitol Hill aides on their view that a modified SLAM-ER could be a less expensive and less risky way to meet the Navy's and Air Force's standoff requirements.

The House Appropriations Committee voted to terminate JASSM, although funding was later restored during a conference compromise that fenced off \$43 million for SLAM-ER if it proved superior to the JASSM in the AOA.

In recent months, Pentagon officials have directed the Navy keep enough money in the JASSM budget, about \$10 million over the next five years, to ensure JASSM is suitable for carrier operations. The Navy cut \$60 million it would have cost to integrate JASSM with its F-18 aircraft.

"[The] Navy will remain an active member of the JASSM team and preserve the option to integrate JASSM on Navy aircraft," Cohen's letter stated. "The department will also review its planned buys of both JASSM and SLAM-ER as more information becomes available regarding the ability of JASSM to achieve its currently projected cost and performance," Cohen's letter states. "This acquisition strategy allows us to maintain competition between the JASSM and SLAM-ER programs." -- Jim Snyder

Washington Post April 10, 1998

Pq. 22

The NATO Debate

Sen. William V. Roth Jr.'s March 24 letter contains at least as many inaccuracies as he alleges are contained in Russian Ambassador Yuli Vorontsov's March 10 op-ed article.

First, Sen. Roth objects to Mr. Vorontsov's description of NATO as a "military machine." This neutral term is not negated by the senator's characterization of NATO as a "defensive alliance," which it also is.

The senator also is wrong that NATO "has bordered Russia ever since it was established." When NATO was established in 1949, it bordered the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). From 1955, when the FRG joined it, NATO bordered the German Democratic Republic. NATO also bordered the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Austria, but not Russia.

Second, the "dividing lines" between the West and the Soviet bloc, to which the senator refers, were not imposed by Stalin but by the three allies—the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

If NATO accepts the accession of Poland, it will for the first time acquire a common border with Russia -- i.e., with Kaliningrad, the Russian enclave between Poland and Lithuania. The question of overland access to this enclave has been raised by the Russian government with the Polish and Lithuanian governments but not resolved.

What is Sen. Roth's view on this question? How will NATO resolve it? By re-creating something like the "Polish corridor" of the 1930s, which was used by Hitler as a pretext to attack Poland? By persuading Poland to grant the Russians access to Kaliningrad? Or by making Lithuanian entry into NATO contingent on granting access for Russian troops and supplies to enter Kaliningrad? The Senate should debate these questions before it votes on NATO expansion.

Sen. Roth writes that he has received a letter endorsing NATO membership for Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary signed by the ambassadors of the nine East-Central European countries that are candidates for NATO membership in the second and subsequent rounds.

As a veteran of World War II who served in the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw immediately after the war and saw the devastation that had been wreaked upon Poland, I understand the point of view of Poles and Polish Americans. They have meritorious claims upon our sympathies, but we cannot satisfy all of their demands, nor should we try to do so.

Sen. Roth is correct that NATO expansion is low on the list of concerns of ordinary Russians but wrong when he writes as though only Russian nationalists and extremists, a group of declining popularity and power, are worried about it. NATO expansion is a concern across the spectrum of intellectuals Russian and among members of the political establishment. Those who will be most badly hurt by it will be the democrats and reformers whom we regard as our friends. But the task of the Senate surely should be to decide what is in the national interest of the United States and its people, not of either Russians or East-Central Europeans.

Finally, Sen. Roth refers to the desirability of the Russians' securing and dismantling their arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. From Moscow, moving NATO closer to Russia looks threatening. The Russian political establishment cannot be expected to continue dismantling its arsenal so long as it perceives NATO expansion in that light. That, I take it, was what Amb. Vorontsov was saying. I fear he is right, and Sen. Roth is wrong.

R.T. Davies Silver Spring

The writer was U.S. ambassador to Poland from 1973 to 1978.

Editor's Note: Roth's letter appeared in the Current News Early Bird, March 24, 1998, Pg. 12.

New York Times

<u>On My Mind</u> A.M. ROSENTHAL

The Missile Business

I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, find that the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons ('weapons of mass destruction') and of the means of delivering such weapons, constitutes an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States, and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat."

Mr. Clinton's order outlined the diplomatic, economic and export penalties that could be used by the U.S. against proliferation.

That was on Feb. 12, 1994. Almost ever since, a handful of reporters on a handful of newspapers have exposed cases of the U.S. ignoring or rationalizing sales of missile technology—"the means" of delivery—or getting into the business itself.

The public and most of the press pay almost no attention. American business is annoyed when anybody makes a fuss about such matters.

Two recent cases:

On April 4, 1998, The New York Times reported that a Federal grand jury was investigating whether two U.S. companies, Loral Space and Electronic and Hughes Electronic, illegally gave space expertise to China that significantly advanced Beijing's ballisticmissile programs.

But the reporters, Jeff Gerth and Raymond Bonner, wrote that while the inquiry was under way Mr. Clinton dealt it a serious blow by quietly approving export to China of similar technology by one of the companies under investigation -- Loral.

On March 18, Bill Gertz of The Washington Times reported that the Administration would offer China access to missile technology barred under human right sanctions.

The sales, made and planned, permit China to lengthen the range of its mis-

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siles and sharpen their accuracy. The Gertz article says the U.S. will ask China not to sell the technology to countries like Iran and Pakistan that are developing nuclear weapons. U.S. intelligence says Beijing has made that promise before and broken it.

And the Administration offers no explanation why it is in American security interests to help China build missiles that will fly farther and hit more accurately. After all, a top Chinese general already has boasted they could pulverize Los Angeles.

In other cases, Mr. Clinton has not used his powers to punish China's sales of chemicals to Iran or Russia's transfer of complete intermediate-range missiles to Iran. The Administration permitted U.S. export to Russia of U.S. supercomputers that can be used to simulate nuclear explosions and are 10 times faster than the Russians made.

Some members of Congress pay attention. The majority members of the Senate Subcommittee on International Security and Proliferation issued an even-tempered but deeply critical report on Administration policy.

The report said that about two dozen countries had or were working to develop longrange ballistic missiles, and

"It is time for the Administration to announce that America will no longer be endangered by ballistic-missile-delivered destruction from rogue states. The time for debating whether to deploy a national missile defense is over."

But on proliferation or missile defense nothing much happens.

Congress calls for more reports or adds to the 60-odd government offices that deal

with proliferation.

Henry Sokolski, executive director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center in Washington, writes in The National Interest that when you tell Washington insiders that your work focuses on preventing the spread of strategic weapons, they figure you can't hold down a real job. He says business generally views such

work as being as bad as promoting human rights. U.S. diplomacy "engages" proliferating nations with "handouts or bribes" to such as China, Russia and North Korea.

All right. American business made foreign trade its ideology, overriding human rights -- not even a contest. The public did not mind.

Making trade his own guiding star, Mr. Clinton broke

his promises to fight for the victims of China's police-terror. The public didn't mind.

But I did think Americans would mind when Washington began absolving proliferators and getting into the business itself. But, who knows, maybe one day they will awake. If they do it will be because a handful of reporters won't fall asleep.

San Diego Union-Tribune

Navy frigate back from drug-war duty off Mexican coast

The frigate George Philip returned yesterday to the San Diego Naval Station after a three-month counternarcotics deployment to the Pacific coast of Mexico.

During the cruise, the

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ship's crew boarded and inspected several suspect vessels bound for the United States and Mexico.

While visiting the ports of Mazatlan, Puerto Vallarta and Cabo San Lucas, the ship's crew volunteered for several community relations projects including repairs to a senior citizens' home and a children's feeding center.

New York Times

Bringing Pol Pot to Justice

Time cannot erase the criminal responsibility of Pol Pot, whose murderous rule of Cambodia in the late 1970's brought death to about a million people, or one out of seven Cambodians. Trying him before an international tribunal would advance justice, promote healing in Cambodia and give pause to any fanatic tempted to follow his example.

Plans to deliver Pol Pot to international custody have been rumored before. But this time the possibility seems more realistic,

thanks to President Clinton's intervention.

In an unusual but well-justified use of American assistance, Mr. Clinton has ordered the Departments of Defense, State and Justice to help plan for the arrest and trial of Pol Pot. The American Government will help move the 73-year-old former Cambodian leader to a country where he can be tried once he is arrested and will prepare the legal groundwork for prosecuting him.

Since last year, Pol Pot has been held prisoner by a faction of the Khmer Rouge guerrilla movement he once headed. The weakened guerrillas are based near the Thai-Cambodian border and are willing to discuss turning him over to an international April 10, 1998

tribunal. Alternatively, the Thai Army could easily seize Pol Pot, and apparently will do so if Washington promises to whisk him out of Thailand.

Pol Pot's eventual destination should be the Netherlands, where the United Nations Security Council could set up an international tribunal to try him, similar to the tribunal now trying war crimes suspects from Bosnia. The Security Council should certainly do that. One hitch might be a veto by China, which has protected Pol Pot in the past. China's leaders, seeking a wider role in world affairs, should recognize that further efforts to shield Pol

Pot would damage their standing.

The uncertainty about China's intentions in this case underscores the need for a permanent and effective International Criminal Court to try future cases of crimes against humanity. Such a court has been held up by Washington's misplaced fear that a tribunal would unjustly try American soldiers accused of criminal conduct abroad. But the business of an international criminal court would be to try people like Pol Pot, who are charged with the most egregious crimes, and only when their own nations cannot or will not. For now, Bangkok, Washington and the Security Council should do what is necessary to hold Pol Pot accountable for his monstrous crimes.

Washington Post

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Remembering the Maine

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

On the recent centennial of the sinking of an American battleship in Havana harbor, there was scant remembering of the Maine, in American circles at least. This was unfortunate because the event still resonates in . . . But wait. A digression is required to tuck in the absorbing story of the U.S. nuclear submarine commander Hyman Rickover. The tale is newly told by British historian Hugh Thomas in the New York Review of Books.

The Maine affair was far more than a maritime disaster. The furor at the loss of a capital ship with the death of 266 sailors played directly into the American decision to go to war against Cuba's colonial master.

Spain. The effort left the farflung Spanish empire in American hands and, Thomas notes, led directly to the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt and to the emergence of the United States as a world power.

At the time, a rushed official American inquiry, operating in a context of press-driven war fever, attributed the sinking to an external submarine mine -- suspicions naturally focused on Spain. The Spanish report focused on the folly of placing explosion-prone gunpowder next to coal bunkers and theorized of an internal explosion. To this day one sees it said that the blast is "still unexplained."

This is the historical limbo punctured forever, says Thomas, by a "meticulous" study published by Adm. Rickover in 1976 but, oddly, since little noted. Rickover, bringing to bear his formidable technical knowledge and analytical skills, showed that the Maine

had most likely been destroyed not by a hostile mine but by heat from a fire in a coal bunker adjacent to a gunpowder magazine.

Thomas concludes: " 'Remember the Maine' was for a long time a famous slogan in North America. It has been sometimes used by politicians to warn the public against complacency in international relations. But we should remember the Maine henceforth to remind ourselves that even inquiries carried out by apparently honorable men can succumb to folly and prejudice."

In fact, the story illustrates a strange and continuing American tendency to be unbalanced by Cuba. A century ago we were driven to passionate engagement by the thought that affairs in Cuba were being poorly conducted by the thensovereign, Spain. A hundred years later the sovereign is Cu-

ban, but our policy is still touched by like passions. Yes, there is a list of differences as long as Fidel Castro's beard. But the consistency of our responses over a hundred years' time is notable. It is as though Americans have an intense and permanent preoccupation with the way Cuba is ruled.

Look, for instance, at the current flap over a report Congress ordered the Pentagon to make on whether post-Cold War Cuba poses a military or strategic threat. Leaks suggested that the report would reflect the currents of engagement generated by Pope John Paul on his recent trip to Havana and the like judgments brought back from his separate trip by retired Marine general John J. Sheehan. This was enough to prompt House Speaker Newt Gingrich to put the fading Cuban dictator in the same category of menace as the defiant Saddam Hussein. Secretary of Defense William Cohen is now applying his personal imprimatur to the report before its release.

Rickover's Navy-published study -- he died in 1986 -- has messages worth pondering. For Americans it is an alwaystimely warning against making weighty policy decisions more on the basis of popular emotion than of factual analysis. The study also makes you wonder whether, if the first report had come up with an internal-explosion theory absolving Spain, the United States would have averted war and avoided the road to world power. Rickover prudently doubts it.

The Cuban line was until recently that Americans blew up the Maine to provoke a war with Spain and grab Cuba. Now the matter is deemed worthy of inquiry. Americans almost certainly did not blow up the Maine, although they certainly did exploit the sinking to go to war. It was, moreover, a war undertaken not to acquire but to liberate Cuba, although the independence soon granted was not free and clear and led in time to Cuba's move from the orbit of American power to the orbit of Soviet power. Some day Americans and Cubans will have to talk it out. Remember the Maine, indeed.

Washington Post April 10, 1998 Pg. 18

Civilians, Rebels Slaughtered in Algeria

PARIS -- Nearly 100 civilians and Muslim rebels were killed in Algeria as the country celebrated the Muslim Feast of Sacrifice this week, Algerian newspapers said.

More than half of those killed were civilians, mostly women and children, in violence that mirrored past surges of slaughter at religious holiday times. Muslim rebels say such events are propitious for what they term their holy struggle.

The North African country of 29 million people plunged into violence after authorities, alarmed by a big general election lead taken by radical Islamists, scrapped the poll in January 1992.

Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph

April 9, 1998

U.S. military might serve as space cops Defending our satellites might become necessary

By John Diedrich The Gazette

In the days of pirates, U.S. Navy ships patrolled the seas to keep trade routes safe for American merchants.

Now the frontier is in space, and the military may be called upon to protect billions of dollars in satellites from terrorism or other threats.

Space officials are considering back-up systems and shields for satellites to protect transmissions. The military also may develop a shuttle craft that could be used to fix damage. But in the end, it may be the up to the military acting as space cop to protect U.S. assets.

"I firmly believe just like the Navy would go after pirates on the high seas that the U.S. space forces will go after the pirates on the really high seas," said Mark Oderman, managing director of CSP Associates Inc., a Boston consulting firm.

Military protection of space equipment is a recurring theme at the 14th National Space Symposium, being held this week at The Broadmoor hotel. The event has brought together more than 500 industry and government leaders to discuss the future of space technology.

The United States has \$50 billion in government and pri-

vate equipment in space. That investment is expected to explode in coming years, with the number of satellites increasing from 550 to more than 2,000.

Americans will come to depend more on space technologies for banking, stock trades and other everyday activities.

It is still unclear how seriously the United States and other countries will view interference with a satellite. The military is looking for direction

"It is a question of sovereignty. Is a satellite an extension of a country? Is it worth going to war over?" Brig. Gen. Alan Johnson of U.S. Space Command said in a symposium panel Wednesday. "This needs consideration as an issue, and we need guidelines."

Col. Tom Mahr of U.S. Space Command believes the public will expect swift action if terrorists or an unfriendly nation try to attack U.S. satellites

"In America, when something is threatened, people turn to the military and say, 'Do something, military,'" Mahr said. "We have taken for granted that space would be ours. It may not be."

Citizens for Peace in Space hope the military stays out of it. The group, which opposes the military's presence in space, is holding a conference in Colorado Springs this week.

"We are getting the language of colonialism back: 'We got there first so we have all the rights,'" said Bill Sulzman, director of the group. "What it does is lock in place the (economic) inequalities, and the poor will never catch up."

Under international law, countries have access to orbital slots for satellites, sort of like parking spots in space. There already have been conflicts over those slots between countries in Southeast Asia, with one nation accusing another of interferring with its transmission..

If another country tries to jam or disable U.S. satellites, the president and Congress could turn to military action if diplomacy and economic sanctions do not work, Mahr said. The military is preparing options for such a scenario.

"Somebody is going to challenge us sooner or later, and the military's job is to plan in case that happens," he said. "When we look at history, freedoms like that are guaranteed only to extent that you are strong enough, smart enough and often quick enough to ward off someone that would challenge that freedom."

European Stars & Stripes

April 10, 1998

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NCO demoted for hazing

BEAUFORT, S.C. — A sergeant who pleaded guilty to violating a Marine Corps order barring hazing was demoted in connection with the beating of a private at Fort Knox, Ky.

a private at Fort Knox, Ky.

Sgt. Michael P. Whitaker,
25, of Great Falls, Mont., was
demoted to corporal during a
special court-martial at Beaufort Marine Corps Air Station
on Wednesday.

Whitaker, who had been a

tank-maintenance instructor, as one of nine Marines charged after the beating of Pvt. Maciej Lugowski.

Lugowski, 20, of New York City, lost his spleen and suffered other injuries after he was beaten in his barracks Dec. 17.

Along with fellow instructor Sgt. Bruce T. Dowling, Whitaker was charged with hazing violations and multiple counts of dereliction of duty for failing to stop and report "acts of hazing, disorderly conduct, maltreatment and assaults."

Testimony and statements

offered at previous proceedings indicated Marine trainees at Fort Knox beat one another during weekly Thursday night "love sessions," with the knowledge and encouragement of their superiors.

Whitaker is the first Marine noncommissioned officer to be sentenced in connection to the beating. In a pretrial agreement, he pleaded guilty Tuesday to violating the hazing ban, said Maj. Rick Long, a Marine spokesman at Parris Island, S.C. — From The Associated Press

San Diego Union-Tribune

April 9, 1998

Marines clear 'mines' for symposium They cap meeting on international humanitarian aid

By Susan Gembrowski, Staff Writer

CAMP PENDLETON --The Marine swept the ground in front of him with a mine detector, then motioned for another to move forward with a probe.

When the second Marine located the land mine, a demolitions expert set up a grappling hook to remove it.

"Fire in the hole," he yelled, as the team ducked for cover. A quick yank, and he gave the "all clear," following the simulated explosion.

The demonstration capped a panel discussion yesterday about the U.S. role in efforts to eliminate land mines, which each year maim or kill an estimated 26,000 people.

It was part of a weeklong symposium here called the

Emerald Express. About 300 civilian, government and military delegates attended the gathering, which focused on international humanitarian efforts.

Sue Eitel of the Landmine Survivors Network, one of five people on the panel, told the delegates her group was founded in 1995 by two civilian land-mine victims.

Jerry White, an American college student, was camping in Israel when he stepped on a mine and lost a leg, she said. Ken Rutherford, a U.S. relief worker in Somalia, lost both legs when his car ran over a mine.

The U.S. military is prohibited by law from directly participating in operations to clear land mines, said Marine Col. Joseph McMenamin, of the U.S. Central Command.

But he told the gathering the United States can participate in humanitarian assistance.

For example, Navy Cmdr. John Olsen outlined a plan to train doctors in Sri Lanka how to deal with victims of land mines.

Olsen, an anesthesiologist, said the program is to begin this summer or fall, and if successful, could be expanded to Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Nicaragua.

Future projects include the use of telemedicine, which would use pictures of wounds suffered by mine victims. The pictures would be transmitted to medical experts to help them assess injuries and recommend treatment.

Research also is continuing on protective footwear that has been shown to minimize soft tissue injury.

Experts also are exploring the possibility of an injury database that would include information on long-term survivor rehabilitation costs.

The U.S. military continues to work on a plan to help countries develop their own programs for removing land mines.

The United States will commit \$100 million this year in humanitarian aid to assist in land-mine removal worldwide.

A treaty to ban land mines was signed in December by 126 nations. The United States has not signed the pact, however.

The treaty, which does not eliminate anti-tank mines, is to become effective six months after at least 40 nations have ratified it. Six have done so.

Eitel said her group will continue to pressure the United States to sign. The money the United States has allocated toward mine clearance "is not a substitute" for signing the treaty, she said after the panel discussion.

Defense Week

April 13, 1998

Pq. 1

Marine Calls Pentagon Mine Policy 'A Lot Of Great Talk'

BY COLIN CLARK

MONTEREY, Calif.—A top Marine general slammed the Pentagon Tuesday for lack of action or budgetary commitment to mine warfare, calling the Pentagon's actions "a lot of great talk."

Speaking before an audience of more than 350 U.S. and NATO officers, civilian defense employees and scientists attending the Mine Warfare Association's conference at the Naval Postgraduate School here, Lt. Gen. John Rhodes, commander of the Marines' combat development command, offered slides showing a drop in Navy and Marine spending for a range of mine programs from \$600 million in fiscal 1992 to about \$300 million in fiscal 1997.

"Does this look like a viable program...?," Rhodes asked.

He cited a March 1998 General Accounting Office report that called the Navy's spending plans on mine countermeasures "uncertain" and said the service's investments since the Gulf War have "not produced any system ready for deployment."

He listed the Navy ships recently damaged or sunk by mines and said mines are "a showstopper for every one of our naval operations." During the Persian Gulf War, relatively primitive Iraqi mines damaged the USS Princeton and the USS Tripoli.

"We need to elevate mine countermeasure as a full warfighter equal to other systems, whether it's aircraft, submarines or surface ships," Rhodes said.

The director of expeditionary warfare in the Navy's office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Marine Maj. Gen. Edward Hanlon, said earlier in the conference that the Princeton sustained \$96 million in damages. And a \$1,500 sea mine inflicted damage to the Tripoli that cost \$3.5 million to fix, he said.

Hanlon and Rhodes said Defense Secretary William Cohen had been briefed on Navy concerns about mine warfare on April 1.

During his speech, Rhodes built his case methodically. America's need for virtually no fratricide and its emphasis on proportional response to an enemy attack shape American military decision making, he said.

Combine those with the fact of the overwhelming conventional military force, and U.S. forces and enemies will rely on asymmetric threats to attack U.S. forces.

"We have shown that tactical operations can reverse strategic positions," he argued, using the case of Somalia to make his point that an enemy could defeat American forces without confronting its overwhelming conventional military strength.

Of all the possible tools, Rhodes argued, "mine warfare is the easiest and most effective approach against American forces." Only one other tool was almost as easy to field and as effective against U.S. forces, according to a chart Rhodes presented: offensive information warfare.

An earlier speaker at the conference argued the other side of Rhodes' argument—that mines are the most effective weapons in the U.S. maritime arsenal.

"Pound for pound and dollar for

dollar, they are among the most effective weapons in our inventory," said Rear Adm. Timothy Beard, deputy commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet.

"I commanded a ship in the Gulf during Desert Storm. The effect of just the threat of mines on me and my crew was considerable.... As you all well know, the only major ship casualties we suffered— Tripoli and Princeton—came from mines...Any way you look at it, mines are a force multiplierrelatively cheap to deliver with big payoffs," he said.

But the Navy has not put its money where its mouth has been, he said.

"Lack of a policy has contributed

not only to the phaseout of many of the Navy's mining systems and hardware, but also to the deterioration of mining support, such as the ability to plan minefields," Beard

In his address, Rhodes offered another chart of total obligation authority spending on Marine and Navy mine countermeasures planned from fiscal 1998 through fiscal 2003. The figures begin around \$375 million for surface. air and shallow-water mine countermeasures, explosives ordnance disposal and the remote minehunting system.

During the Gulf War, U.S. ships had to rely on helicopters hovering in front of moving ships, searching for mines. Today, the U.S. has only

two minesweeper ships stationed in Japan and two in the Persian Gulf. If a major conflict were to break out, the U.S. would have to ship its remaining fleet of mine sweepers by relatively slow cargo ships, Hanlon said.

"It's going to take us 60 to 90 days to get these over to the Persian Gulf," in the event of major conflict, he said. "That's the biggest problem we have with mine sweepers—the time lines."

But Rhodes, who weighed his words for effect throughout his address, had his eyes on a bigger problem. He drew thunderous applause from his admittedly partisan audience at the end of his speech with the five words: "We've got to do better."

North County (CA) Times

Apr. 7, 1998

General: War still focus of military

By Phil Diehl Staff Writer

CAMP PENDLETON --Humanitarian missions may be important but war will always be the bread and butter for military men and women, Gen. Tony Zinni said Monday.

Zinni, now in charge of the US Central Command, was formerly assigned to Camp Pendleton as commander of get it back to manageable pro-46,000 troops in the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force. He returned to the base this week as one of 300 participants in Emerald Express '98.

Political, military and nongovernmental leaders from 26 countries gathered at Camp Pendleton for the annual exdisaster relief efforts said. around the world.

these operations," Zinni said.
"No two are alike."

Sometimes called "operations other than war," humanitarian missions require extensive planning, he said.

They can be difficult for troops trained for the chaos of Rwanda and Somalia are war.

"We deal with enemies in resentatives at the symposium. the military--and in these op-erations there is no enemy," Zinni said. It's often hard for for political affairs, began the

the troops to tell "the good guys from the bad guys" in a humanitarian operation.

'The military is best at these operations when it's a catastrophic event," he said.

That way they can go in, establish military order, and leave. They do poorly at longterm operations.

"We bring the wherewithal to overwhelm the situation and portions," Zinni said.

While humanitarian, disaster-relief and peacekeeping missions have become more frequent in recent decades, there's no reason to believe they will always occupy U.S.

Just a few months ago it apchange of ideas and experi- peared the United States could ences related in humanitarian go to war again with Iraq, Zinni

"Is war as we know it "We've learned a lot about over?" he asked. "I don't think

> Humanitarian, disaster relief and peacekeeping missions are "what we do to avoid conflicts and to be ready for them when they occur," Zinni said.

France, Australia, Pakistan, among the countries with rep-

U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, the undersecretary

Pg. 1 symposium with a keynote address Sunday evening.

> Mission planning and psychological operations are among topics to be discussed today. A panel discussion of land mines and land-mine injuries is scheduled Wednesday.

> Regional issues and the strategies used for them will be presented Thursday.
> Discussions of "dealing with

violence" and "exit criteria/end state" are scheduled Friday.

U.S. Ambassador Robert K. Oakley, whom President Bush appointed as special envoy to Somalia in 1992 for Operation Restore Hope, is scheduled to speak Friday, and Lt. Gen. Carlton Fulford, commander of the 1st MEF, will deliver closing remarks.

April 10, 1998

New York Times

Richardson to Visit Afghanistan to Support Talks

By Barbara Crossette

UNITED NATIONS -- Bill Richardson, the U.S. representative here, said Thursday that he will go Afghanistan next week in an effort to demonstrate U.S. support for talks involving the Taliban and other Afghan factions.

Richardson, who will be the highest-ranking U.S. official to visit the country in 20 years, will meet not only with leaders of the Taliban, the radical Islamic movement that controls two-thirds of Afghanistan, but also with representatives of the coalition of Islamic armies that the Taliban pushed out of Kabul, the capital, in 1996.

The displaced mujahedeen alliance, now fractured and plagued by infighting, still controls an area in the north of the country.

A U.N. official, Lakhdar

Brahimi of Algeria, is preparing the groundwork for talks among the Afghan factions. A cease-fire and agreement to form a broad-based coalition

government would open the way to foreign assistance in rebuilding the devastated country -- a message Richardson will be taking to both sides.

The United States, which technically has not recognized either Afghan government, has closed the Afghan embassy in Washington. But it has not argued in favor of vacating Afghanistan's U.N. seat, which is still held by the mujahedeen alliance.

Richardson will also visit neighboring Pakistan, which has supported the Taliban movement, as has Saudi Arabia, which is considered the Taliban's major backer. Administration officials say they have also approached the Saudis through diplomatic

"There is no country in the region that is more affected by the continuing conflict in Af-

ghanistan than is Pakistan," a senior administration official told reporters Thursday at a briefing about the trip. "And there is no country in the region that we believe can have more influence in trying to bring that conflict to an end than Pakistan."

Administration officials are also supporting a broader peace initiative involving the other neighbors of Afghanistan: Iran, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uz-bekistan and China.

Brahimi has recently visited most of those countries to urge them to assist in disarming the Afghan factions, which get varying degrees of support from outside Afghanistan.

The United States wants peace in the region for commercial reasons as well. Uno-

cal, the U.S. oil company, is tentatively scheduled for the interested in building a pipeline from Central Asia through Afghanistan, but has been advised not to sign contracts until there is a recognized government in the region, Richardson also Kabul.

Human rights issues will also be raised with Afghans on both sides of the continuing civil war, U.S. officials said. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright called the Taliban's treatment of women "despicable" on a visit to Pakistan last year, and the epithet still ran- Richardson plans to attend a kles in Kabul.

Richardson's trip, which will begin with a visit to Bahrain and the U.S. aircraft carrier and the U.S. aircraft carrier a working group known as the Independence in the Persian friends of Cambodia. This in-Gulf, will in some measure lay formal group is monitoring the groundwork for a visit to events leading up to a Cambothe area by President Clinton, dian election July 26.

fall. No U.S. president has visited the region since Jimmy Carter went to India in 1978.

On his 10-day trip through expects to visit Bangladesh and India, where he will be the first U.S. official to meet with the new government of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee; as well as Sri Lanka, which is celebrating its 50th year of independence.

After his visit to South Asia, meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, of Southeast Asian and other nations that have joined to form Washington Post April 10, 1998 Pq. 18

Kosovo Albanians Demand Independence

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia --Heavily armed Serbian riot police confronted tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo demanding independence -- a new display of the tension wracking the province.

There were no incidents and the protesters -- estimated at 30,000 by police -- dispersed about an hour after helmeted police blocked their path in downtown Pristina. Kosovo is an increasingly restive province in southern Serbia, which dominates Yugoslavia.

New York Times

April 10, 1998

Former P.O.W.s Hail New Museum: 'Now People Will Know What We've Done'

By Kevin Sack

ANDERSONVILLE, Ga. --The old soldiers stood ramrod straight, some with the help of canes, as a Marine Corps band played the national anthem at the dedication of the National Prisoner of War Museum here Thursday. Try as they might, some could not keep their saluting hands from quivering with palsy.

For others, it was the poignancy of the day and not the infirmities of age that made them tremble. After all this time, after the years of torture and deprivation and the decades of haunting memories, two senators and a governor and more than 3,000 others had come to pay tribute to the singular sacrifices they made for American liberty.

"Now people will know what we've done," said Bill J. Ashworth, a Korean War veteran in a wheelchair, who began wiping away tears as he recalled his 33 months of captivity at the hands of the Chinese. "They'll know the price we paid for our freedom.'

The mission of the new museum here, built on the site of a Civil War prison in southwest Georgia, is to ensure that Americans never forget the 800,000 soldiers taken prisoner

in their country's wars, from the revolution of 1776 to the Persian Gulf war of 1991.

Prisoners of war have long had their own organizations dedicated to preserving the memories and the camaraderie of their torment. But many have felt that their government and their fellow citizens never adequately acknowledged their contributions.

That is particularly true of those taken captive in World War II, men who came home with the rest of the troops to a jubilant country that never paused to recognize that some soldiers had been severely scarred by their detention. Many stoically kept their nightmares to themselves. But as their generation began to die out, a new urgency emerged.

"To a large extent, we, as prisoners, didn't talk about it." said John S. Edwards, a veteran of three wars who was taken prisoner after his plane was shot down over Germany in World War II. "We returned to our communities, became leaders of our communities. Now, if I may use a euphemism, we want to capture those stories. This museum tells the whole story of those who truly know what it's like to be without freedom."

The 10,000-square foot mu-

seum stresses the commonality of prisoners' experiences in various conflicts rather than depicting the uniqueness of captivity in individual wars. There are sections on capture, on living conditions, on communications, on privation, on morale and relationships, and on escape and freedom.

Throughout Thursday's dedication ceremonies, which were held under an expansive white tent, speakers referred repeatedly to the common struggle waged by prisoners of war to preserve their dignity and humanity.

"Their story is the story of a struggle against daunting odds to choose their own way, to stay faithful to a shared cause. to remain human beings in a world where they were treated like animals," said Sen. John McCain of Arizona, a Navy pilot who was shot down over Hanoi in 1967 and spent more than five years in prison in North Vietnam. "Their humanity, so ironic and gallant in its opposition to organized inhumanity, was their glory.

Most of the \$5.8 million cost of the museum was raised by private veterans groups, with the federal government chipping in about \$2.4 million. The state of Georgia contributed an additional \$1.2 million to build an entrance road.

Construction began in 1996, although the museum's roots date to 1970, when Congress added the site of the Civil War prison at Andersonville to the National Park system as a memorial to all prisoners of war. Originally known as Camp Sumter, the prison held more than 45,000 Union soldiers in the final 14 months of the war, and almost 13,000 prisoners died here of malnutrition and

Housed in a brick building that imitates the towers and guard houses of a typical prison camp, the new museum makes generous use of the televised images and voices of surviving prisoners.

"They knew how to reduce a man in 20 minutes to a selfloathing, sobbing wreck," says

"We had men that would actually walk into a warning wire and commit suicide," remembers another.

There also are models of bamboo tiger cages that were used to house American prisoners in Vietnam, and of the small cells in Hanoi where prisoners were shackled by their ankles to concrete platforms. There are artifacts like the white linen clothing worn by Sgt. Nathan P. Kinsley, a Union soldier held at Andersonville, and the mug shaped from a butter tin by F.G. Perkins in a World War II camp in Germany.

The ingenuity of the prisoners is illustrated in a display of handmade crystal radios crafted in German camps from bartered, smuggled and stolen parts. Another exhibit includes a remarkable replica of a threemasted ship made out of soup bones by prisoners in the War of 1812.

There are videos of mothers and wives recalling the ominous days when dreaded telegrams arrived at their doors. There are displays of letters written home, both hopeful and apologetic. "Dear Edith," wrote Curtis G. Davis on a postcard from a Japanese camp in 1944, "I'm very sorry I have not written sooner but I was so sure I had been but a memory to you."

While the museum's exhibits present a static account of the prison experience, the former prisoners of war who gathered Thursday in the lobby and

courtyards provided a living history for all who would listen.

James Downey Jr., an 83-year-old World War II veteran from Newport News, Va., told of surviving dysentery and malaria in a Filipino camp. His younger brother, detained in the same camp, did not make it. Retired Air Force Col. Wayne Waddell, who spent 2,069 days in prison in North Vietnam, recalled being tied up so compactly by his captives that his fellow inmates said he resembled nothing so much as a suitcase.

Joseph A. Sterner, who was captured in the Philippines in 1942 and spent 40 months in Japanese camps, told of wasting away to 90 pounds from 145 pounds. He recalled the day when American B-29s announced the end of the war by

flying over their camp and dropping bundles of cheese, cigarettes and chewing gum.

"We didn't jump up and down when the surrender came," he said. "We were just too tired."

The museum, and the stories of the former prisoners, had a deep impact on many of these who visited here Thursday, perhaps none more than those currently in uniform.

"I walked through with my wife," said Lt. Charles C. Heaton, a 31-year-old Navy pilot, "and it was difficult for her to see that imprisonment is one of my possible fates. You can't help but have a general awe of what all the POWs have done. These men have been in extreme circumstances and have shown courage that you and I don't get to display. We all

stand in their shadows."

Washington Post

April 10, 1998 Pg. 18

Latvia Responds to Russian Threat

RIGA, Latvia -- Latvia said it is open to dialogue with Russia after Moscow flexed its economic muscles in a disagreement over Latvia's treatment of its large Russian minority.

"Our attitude to the protection of national minorities and human rights has always been one of the highest priorities of the government, which will continue to pursue such a policy," a Latvian Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Russia had said Wednesday it would slash oil exports sent through Latvia by about 15 percent in the second quarter of this year, targeting Latvia's lucrative oil transit business.

New York Times

April 10, 1998

A Spaniard Rules Bosnia With a Strong Hand

By Chris Hedges

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina -- Spanish diplomat Carlos Westendorp, the top international official charged with carrying out the Bosnian peace agreement, was in the presidential palace in Zagreb recently listening to a windy lecture by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on European history and the Islamic threat to Western civilization.

Tudjman, who led his country in fighting the Muslims and the Serbs, told Westendorp that history will place him alongside Franco as "a savior of Western civilization."

Westendorp, 61, a bitter opponent of the Spanish dictator, who died in 1975, said: "One of the merits of democracy is that we got rid of saviors. We don't want anyone to take care of us. We can take care of ourselves."

Westendorp is fighting a new battle in Bosnia, one that is often lost in the incremental steps that elate European technocrats and goes unnoticed by most everyone else. With the blessing of Washington, he now rules Bosnia by fiat and is determined to shatter the monolithic grip on power by

the Serbian, Croatian and Muslim nationalist parties that waged the war and control the three partitioned entities.

Nationalist Bosnian Serb newspapers, including Serb Oslobodenje and Javnost, refer angrily to Westendorp as "the dictator" and complain of "colonial domination by the West." The Muslim-led government says Westendorp has forced it to comply with demands of the Dayton peace accords, such as the return of Serbian and Croatian refugees to Sarajevo, while not putting equal pressure on the Bosnian Serbs

The recent heavy-handed intervention by Westendorp, has transformed the once largely ceremonial post of high representative into that of a governor general who runs a protectorate that has been promised more than \$5 billion in international aid.

In the last few weeks, decisions on a host of issues as diverse as media licensing, housing and tariff laws and the design for a common flag, have poured out of his office, which is staffed by 212 international bureaucrats in downtown Sarajevo.

The nondescript office

block, now nicknamed "the presidency," has dismissed elected officials who obstructed peace efforts, appointed international administrators in disputed towns such as Brcko and Srebrenica, designed a new common currency, common license plates, common passports and a national emblem. It is drafting municipal statutes, reforming election laws and attempting to find the money and training to create a new multi-ethnic border police.

Westendorp has strayed beyond Bosnia. A week ago he threatened Croatia with international sanctions unless it permitted the return of some 500,000 ethnic Serbs driven from the country during the war. He is also working to find the financial support to unite Serbian, Croatian and Muslim Socialist parties to challenge the ruling nationalists and has pushed for the arrest of Bosnian war criminals.

The draconian measures, endorsed in a conference last December in Bonn by the six nations -- the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Russia -- that oversee the Bosnian peace effort, have inched the three factions closer together, although few of

the three million displaced people and refugees have returned to their homes.

The continued failure to build a country where different ethnic groups can break down the walls of partition and live as neighbors, Westendorp believes, "is a recipe for another war," one that is most likely to be triggered by the Muslim-led government in Sarajevo, which he said now has the most powerful army of the three factions.

The goal of a united Bosnia is one critics contend is impossible to achieve so soon after the war. Westendorp concedes wryly that it is "almost impossible."

The decision by international administrators to take over the governing of Bosnia has also raised troubling questions about how the state will work without continued infusions of outside aid and direct international supervision. The peace agreement signed in Dayton in 1995 has so far stopped the fighting but done little to restore cooperation and trust.

"We have become deeply involved in the functioning of the state," said Christian Clages, the head of the political department. "We may not run

essential functions from start to finish, but at all levels we must monitor to make sure the work is being done. We have an unprecedented amount of control on the legislative and executive branches of government. We do not know, however, how we will exit, how we will not perpetuate Bosnia's culture of dependency."

Westendorp sat early one morning in his home in Sarajevo, with its empty drawers, sparse furniture and barren bookshelves, in blue monogrammed pajamas and a wraparound kimono. His 3-year-old son, Lucas, visiting from Madrid with his mother, Amaya de Miguel, 37, watched cartoons. In the basement a half dozen bodyguards, all plainclothes members of the Spanish Civil Guard, put their stubby MP5 assault rifles under their coats and ordered Westendorp's armored Audi to pull up to the front gate.

Westendorp, who was the last foreign minister in the Socialist government of Felipe Gonzalez, would at first appear to be an unlikely warrior. He has the well-tailored, impeccable look of a seasoned diplomat and is endowed with a quiet, old-world charm and the disarming modesty of one who is

used to humoring dull dinner companions.

He grew up, however, chafing under a regime that fused conservative Catholicism and Spanish nationalism, one headed by a general who was escorted into cathedrals under a canopy held by prelates. When Westendorp, the son of an army officer who was imprisoned by the Republican government during the civil war, joined the Socialist Party as a diplomat 30 years ago, it was a clandestine organization.

"Bosnia suffers from the same phenomena we experienced in Spain," he said. "The church bears a large responsibility for the war. The Bosnians are the same people. They are all Slavs. Religious identity is simply the raison d'etre for these nationalist leaders to hold onto power, like animals who cling to their turf. We need to build a new set of values, new traditions, new political parties to present competing ideas and culture to overcome these nationalist movements."

The political transformation in Bosnia began last June when Westendorp took over from former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt as high representative. Bildt, deeply frustrated by his inability to move the three

Bosnian leaderships, lobbied hard to broaden the powers of the high representative's office. It was Westendorp who reaped the benefits.

British soldiers from the NATO-led peacekeeping force occupied the Bosnian Serb city of Banja Luka in July, taking over all public buildings and them to Biljana handing Playsic. the Bosnian Serb president and chief rival of the hardliners based in Pale. After the intervention, which saw the local police disarmed, a British officer sat in Ms. Plavsic's office answering her phone.

Next came the arrests of war-crimes suspects by peacekeepers and the forced dissolution of the Bosnian Serb special police units, the main prop that enriched and empowered the Bosnian Serb nationalists in their stronghold of Pale.

Westendorp has lately begun to deliver deadlines and ultimatums to erode the partition. He has told the Sarajevo government, which seized the apartments of tens of thousands of ethnic Croats and Serbs after the war, that it has until the end of the year to return 20,000 people to their homes.

He has informed the Bosnian Serbs and ethnic Croats that continued aid will depend on the return of those who were expelled. He has also threatened to ban Bosnian officials from running in the September elections if they refuse to carry out the steps mandated by the Dayton accords.

License plates, flags, passports and tariff laws can be rammed down the throats of the nationalists. But the idea of returning refugees to their homes throughout Bosnia challenges the bedrock of the power of the ethnic leaders who base their ideology on the protection of their group from the others.

Westendorp, despite the daunting task before him, brings to his job a missionary zeal that flashes into full view the moment he speaks of Franco's Spain.

"I walked out of the presidential palace in Zagreb, past all the flags and the guards in their ornate uniforms, that smell of totalitarian power," he said. "I knew where I was. I remembered how it was when our television signed off at night, always playing the national anthem while we looked at Franco's image. I have a special distaste for nationalist one-party states."

Washington Times April 10, 1998 Pg. 20

Bonapartist tendencies at ACDA?

ouldn't it just be dandy to have the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) in charge of the Department of Defense's weapons development programs? Sounds like the fox guarding the chickens — though, of course, the Pentagon isn't exactly small and defenseless, nor is it likely to accept such an imposition without a fight.

Still, as reported by The Washington Times' Bill Gertz this week, such ambitions are floating into the imaginings of ACDA Director John Holum. Mr. Holum, who has not had such power in the past, appears now to have been emboldened by his agency's planned move under the umbrella of the State Department. In fact, it almost looks as if Mr. Holum thinks the State Department is being subsumed under ACDA. So naturally, perhaps, Mr. Holum has now set his sights on devouring the Pentagon. According to a March 13 letter written by Mr. Holum to Walter Slocombe, undersecretary of defense for policy, the Pentagon should coordinate all important decisions with, well, Mr. Holum, in order "to avoid unexpected diplomatic and policy consequences stemming from compliance decisions." He would like to avoid nasty controversies by being involved "at the earliest possible stage."

The Holum plan, apparently, would involve the State Department, ACDA and the National Security Council in the Pentagon process currently in place to determine whether U.S. weapons under development meet U.S. obligations under international agreements. Sounds like a recipe for political, diplomatic and bureaucratic game-playing on a major scale.

While ACDA has been trying to inject itself into this process for years, there is probably good reasons Mr. Holum is making a pitch at this time. At issue is —once again—the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and U.S. efforts to develop a protective shield against incoming missiles from various rogue states abroad. The administration is trying to negotiate clarifications of the 1972 agreement and is attempting an end-run around the U.S. Senate's constitutional role in ratifying international treaties.

The problem is that the modifications to the ABM treaty negotiated with the Russians would hamper American efforts to develop a ballistic missile defense to protect our troops abroad as well as our bases and cities here at home. From a Russian perspective, an effective U.S. shield would hurt Russia's ability to sell its weapons systems abroad, and so the Kremlin is fighting it tooth and nail. Appallingly, the White House is going along. Today we are not talking remote visions like Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, but programs that are much closer to reality and just a few years from deployment if the political will was there.

The Cold War is over, but the danger of missile

attack on the United States has not disappeared by any means. Rather, it has become more diffuse, with 26 countries today possessing ballistic missiles and with the proliferation of nuclear technology and chemical and biological weapons. On Thursday, the Jerusalem Post reported that Iran has acquired four nuclear warheads from the Soviets. Just swell. To ignore this very real threat and to fail to protect the American people is surely irresponsible in the extreme.

LEGI-SLATE

April 9, 1998

Pentagon Plans to Put F-22 Into Production -- But Will Call It a "Test"

By George C. Wilson LEGI-SLATE News Service

WASHINGTON (April 9) -Internal documents reveal that
the Pentagon intends to put the
F-22, the world's most expensive fighter plane, into production this year with little advance testing, but will seek to
deflect expected criticism by
calling the first two models to
come out the factory doors
"pre-production test vehicles."

"They're redefining the whole damn program," complained one official privy to the behind-closed-doors strategy session on the F-22 held in the office of Under Secretary of Defense Jacques S. Gansler on Tuesday (April 7). The Air Force intends to buy 341 F-22s for a total cost of \$63.8 billion, or \$187 million each.

An internal Pentagon document summarizing the meeting and obtained by LEGI-SLATE News Service states that "there was much concern with the likely perception that this decimerely amounts to changing the names and fails to come to grips with the prob-Thus, the DoD lem. [Department of Defense] needs to do something, or be perceived to be doing something, more substantive with the test program."

The General Accounting Office last month put Pentagon and Air Force champions of the F-22 on the defensive by disclosing that "only 4 percent" of the testing program -- which is designed to find the flaws in

the super fighter -- will have been completed by December, 1998, when the Pentagon is scheduled to commit money to Lockheed Martin Corp. to start production. The GAO recommended delaying production by a year to allow more testing of the plane, which is designed to assure U. S. air superiority over the battlefield in the 21st century.

And other problems lie ahead for the F-22. The Pentagon's own team, convened to make an independent estimate of the eventual costs of the F-22, has warned that the costs will be higher than projected, according to defense officials.

The Gansler meeting summary states that Pentagon Comptroller William Lynn "argued that DoD should own up now to the cost overrun and budget now to the CAIG (cost analysis improvement group) numbers. But Air Force convinced Gansler that holding to the numbers in the [current] Air Force budget would keep pressure on the contractor."

Defense and Air Force leaders are sensitive to Congressional concerns about buying the F-22 before it is fully tested. The internal memo said officials at the Gansler meeting "stressed the need to demonstrate early capability in line with the emphasis by Senators (Dan) Coats, R-Ind., and (John) Glenn, D-Ohio, on 'demonstrated performance."

Chairman Coats of the Senate Armed Services airland subcommittee said at a March 25 hearing on tactical aircraft that "demonstrated performance has to play the largest role in decision-making as programs progress through development and into actual fielding." Glenn said at the same hearing that a full test program would reveal problems in time to make corrections before production begins.

The Pentagon master plan for reassuring Coats, Glenn and other critics of the foreshortened testing of the F-22, internal documents reveal, calls for revamping the schedule so that tests originally intended to be conducted late in the development cycle are moved up. The so-called pre-production test vehicles will be subjected to a series of tests along with test models already built.

The so-called "preproduction test vehicles" could not go to war because they will not have either combat electronics or the stealth features designed to foil enemy radar.

Franklin Spinney, a tactical aircraft specialist in the Pentagon's own program and analysis office, has been among those advocating a delay in production until a fighting model of the F-22 has been thoroughly tested. "There's no threat to justify rushing into production," Spinney said in advocating full testing of combat equipped F-22s, rather than stripped down planes.

The Pentagon plans run counter to advice from the GAO, which urged that more than 4 percent of the test program be completed before production starts. The GAO told the Senate subcommittee that "the Department of Defense has previously indicated that if major program problems exist, they usually occur within the first 10 to 20 percent of flight testing."

How the F-22 program is handled will be one of the biggest tests for Gansler, who became Pentagon procurement czar on Nov. 10, 1997. He is a former vice chairman of the Defense Science Board and has been outspoken in his writings and speeches on the need for

more efficiency in developing and buying weapons like the F-22.

During the Tuesday meeting, according to informed officials, Gansler asked why it would not be a good idea to delay production of the F-22. The Air Force response, one source said, was: "Don't do that to us, Mr. Secretary."

Air Force leaders reportedly told Gansler that the delay would enable Lockheed Martin to get out from under what they consider to be a tight contract with specified cost ceilings. LEGI-SLATE News Service obtained a copy of a position paper, circulated before the Gansler meeting, in which the Air Force said that delaying the F-22 by a year would increase production costs by \$2.5 billion.

Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon confirmed that Gansler did decide after the Tuesday meeting to stay committed to the December, 1998, date for the production go-ahead and to consider the first two production models as pre-production test models. Bacon said production of the F-22 was vital for keeping the U.S. edge over the battlefield in the next century.

"It's breakthrough technology," Bacon said of the F-22. "If you bet we have an unassailable margin" in aircraft, "you're betting against technology. We believe the F-22 program should remain on its present schedule," rather than postpone production a year as GAO recommended. "It's important that we get the F-22 up and flying and into the force as soon as possible."

The document summarizing the meeting said that since the first two production models will undergo testing, the December go-ahead would not "represent a production release." One defense official briefed on the meeting said this assertion amounted to a distinction without a difference, since production money will be released to Lockheed Martin no matter what the first two F-22 off the production line are called.

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